NEW CHRISTIAN

MAY - JUNE, 1961 EDITOR - PUBLISHER, KENNETH LESLIE

CAPITALIST - SOCIALIST EMULATION

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

SUSIE STAGEBERG

VERSE

Particular Love
Tables

14
Vol. XIII, No. 9 30 Cents

PARTICULAR LOVE

Love seeks one joy, and only one, to love,
be spent, not for strange "others", but for that
one thing it loves, one thing it puts above
all "others", be it house, or dog, or cat,
or colour of woman's hair, or curl of wave,
or gold, or gilded cake, or overtone
of undulating verse, or desolate grave,
or stars, or starfish, or wave-polished stone,
love seeks perfection in one precious thing
with all the universe to be its setting
and spends itself in lowly strife to bring
to flower the lovely dream it was begetting
and love foregoes the meed of love, nor swerves
from strict obedience to the dream it serves.

TABLES

Silver is rung on tables, tables can tell
the true coin from the false; and they are wise
in more than that, for do they not know well
the touch of hands, and do they not surmise
from long experience the truth that flows
in words across their silence? The years weave
loyalty in their frames, and friendship glows
rich in the grain of them. This I believe:
the hands of men have fashioned useful things
upon the earth,—the wheel, the scythe, the spade;
their busy minds have burrowed the void with wings
and burned the dark with lenses; but their hearts made
a supper table where they fill a bowl
with bread and milk to feed their common soul.

K.L.

CAPITALIST-SOCIALIST EMULATION

In April, 1945, we had a letter from James Clement Dunn, Assistant Secretary, Department of State, Washington, commenting on an editorial in the February Issue of *The Protestant.* We had proposed in the editorial the substitution of emulation for competition between the capitalist and socialist states, and we were amazed to find Mr. Dunn, while disagreeing with some of our remarks about cartels and government, was of our mind with regard to this matter of emulation:

"At this point, I believe, Mr. Leslie and I begin to see eye to eye, although we may differ as to the methods and motives of this Department. I would agree that, within the limits of practicality and democratic organization, we want to 'produce and distribute goods of life on a vaster scale than ever before in history.' I believe also with Mr. Leslie that we may be in an era of 'new capitalism, matured, and less reckless'; I am not so sure that it is ready to 'embark directly on the business of empire for itself,' nor that it is a 'cartel capitalism' to be controlled by the United States.

"Finally, I find there is much to be said for Mr. Leslie's concept of emulation between the capitalist and socialist economies. In terms of the Soviet Union and this Country, I have every reason to believe that this emulation will remain a friendly competition in which the two nations will vie, with mutual confidence, in raising standards of living for our own peoples and peace-loving people everywhere."

This letter was one of the last expressions of the Rooseveltian policy that came out of Washington. For with the death of President Roosevelt a great change came over the nation. The cold war set in and it has been with us ever since.

Is it possible for President Kennedy to bring back the days of Roosevelt and lead the world out of the cold war into sanity once more?

President Kennedy has not made a good beginning. The Cuban affair has been called a fiasco. It was a crime. But at least let us remember that President Kennedy did not send in the marines: indeed he acted as a restraining influence upon the Pentagon and those business interests which would have had him send in the marines. He did not, however, flinch from responsibility for the terrible mistake of the American secret service in giving the go-sign to counter-revolution. Only the future will tell whether or not President Kennedy is teachable. We still have hopes. He has surrounded himself with bad teachers, Hoover, Dulles, Rusk. He will have to shake himself free from these and a thousand other influences that would abort history. *If it be true that he has headed off a Pentagon-planned attack against Cuba,* then we should give him full credit for having shown himself master of a military power which had become

entrenched in a position of dominance.

He will find the military heads more difficult if he should ever decide to accede to Krushchov's appeal for general disarmament. As Harrison Brown and James Real say in "Community of Fear", "The military leaders themselves are quite naturally not enthusiastic for disarmament or for any steps that might curtail the freedom of action of the armed services. There is rather clearly a military elite emerging in the United States which is dedicated to a position of perpetual hostility toward the Soviet Union and which wields enormous political as well as military power." They do not mention economic power but that is its most important aspect . . . The idea is brought forward by the authors of a *coup* by the USA . . . "the possibility of a *coup* by the United States military is real." In other words the American brass may decide on its own to take the initiative and strike a blow while it can rather than to wait until immobilzed and unable to strike back.

If President Kennedy has made it clear to the armed forces that he is boss, then that is so much to the good. It is a beginning, but the beginning of a long road back to Roosevelt and Capitalist-Socialist emulation. Emulation, friendly competition, is not war, cold or hot. The USA and the USSR would compete in what James Clement Dunn called "mutual confidence, in raising living standards for our own people and peace-loving peoples everywhere."

But President Kennedy has to make it clear that he is the boss in a great many other sectors of our society. In the process he may become, he will become unpopular as Roosevelt became hated by those for whom war with Russia has become a way of life. But he will tap those great reservoirs of spiritual strength that lie buried deep in the heart of America.

Ever since reading "Drift and Mastery" one of the early books by Walter Lippmann and through the long years of his newspaper comment on public policy we have observed his poise, perceptiveness and balance, James Brewer, our friend and mentor, suggests that Kennedy avail himself of Lippmann's service as head of the State Department. Says Brewer, "Walter Lippmann, as American publicist extraordinary, has ministered to deepest concern of the people in foreign affairs, looking for leadership with things going wrong. There has been eager occasion of mention of him for the post of Secretary of State at Washington. Bewilderment in the office in the highly critical state of American foreign affairs urgently invites it today."

We believe with Brewer that those who suggest Lippmann for this post are on the right track. If there is anyone who can shake America free from her hypnosis of fear Lippmann is the man for the job.

The Rochester (N.Y.) *Democrat and Chronicle*, in an editorial (June 18, 1961) entitled if Berlin Can Be Negotiated We Should Give It a Try, came out in support of Lippmann's plea for negotiation versus brinkmanship and war. This was a complete *volte face* for the Gannett Press which controls twenty newspapers in that area and has been up to date adamantly opposed to anything resembling what it has called "appeasement." Senator Mike Mansfield, chairman of the Senate Foreign Policy Committee agrees with Lippmann. This makes Lippmann an unofficial adviser to the State Department (or virtually so) so that James Brewer has been vindicated. Who passed the word? Somebody close to the sources of power, no doubt. After all, our newspapers are a part of our system of communications, which is integrated into our "freedom to exploit and freedom to be exploited" society. It was not likely that Mr. Brewer's letter to the *Democrat and Chronicle* changed the mind of that august journal, however strange it may be to observe it adopting Brewer's ideas. Somebody in the higher echelons of the power elite of the USA has been calling the new signals for an "agonizing re-appraisal" of the whole cold war approach. Mr. Brewer's letter was printed in a sharply censored edition. Here is the entire letter except the above-quoted paragraph urging the appointment of Lippmann as Secretary of State:

"In startling urgency Columnist Walter Lippman, following the Cuban Invasion which he decried, responded to the question he reportedly crucially raised, of 'how a free and open society can compete with a totalitarian state,' and he made bold to put the U.S.A. on the offending defensive in the matter, while presuming to prescribe a course of redemption.

"This Lippman pronouncement also signally followed a remarkable, Moscow interview by him with Soviet Premier Krushchev. He reported finding the Premier committed to utter intransigence of communist dogma, rejecting thought of another world war conflict, in full dependence on the survival fact of stalemate arms deterrence, and trusting in the communistic principle of manifest destiny to work out peacefully and eventually on its own, in the undeveloped nations. The military today, he regarded, not as an instrument of worldcontest, but as the potential guardian against American interference with the pedestined world revolution.

"In the great struggle with Communism, Lippman says, 'America must find its strength by developing and applying her own principles, not in abondoning them to cloak and dagger business,' that the answer to the Krushchev dogma of Communist 'manifest destiny' lies in a certain freedom of the human will, and in the capacity of men to affect the course of history by their discoveries, wisdom and their courage.

"The reason that we are on the defensive in so many places,

Lippmann pursues, 'is that for some ten years we have been doing exactly what Mr. Krushchev expects us to do.' The columnist extracts from the dogma premises that the capitalist society is static, cannot change its dealings with the underdeveloped countries, can only dominate and exploit, has used money and arms in a long, losing attempt to stabilize native governments, which in the name of anti-communism, are opposed to all important change.

"Lippmann concludes we cannot compete with communism in Asia, Africa or Latin America, unless with a central and persistent policy of promoting economic development and social improvement there. 'For' he says, 'the only real alternative to communism is a liberal and progressive society.'

"Associated Press News analyst, J. M. Roberts lately stated: 'The Cuban and S.E. Asian situations have propelled the United States into an "agonizing reappraisal" of its whole approach to both hot and cold war throughout the world.'

"Walter Lippmann, as American publicist extraordinary, has ministered to deepest concern of the people in foreign affairs, looking for leadership with things going very wrong. There has been eager occasion of mention of him for the post of Secretary of State at Washington. Bewilderment in the office in the highly critical state of American foreign affairs urgently invites it today.

"In 1958 Walter Lippmann found solemn occasion to say: 'America is in historic challenge as a declining power compared with its great rival in a like state of frustration and nsecurity of nations which have achieved and have lost their sense of mission and greatness.' "

If President Kennedy can rise to the level of his world responsibilities and can face the challenges of history, making the USA serve progress rather than reaction, he can overcome the frustration spoken of by Lippman and regain for Americans their sense of mission.

EDITORIAL COMMENTS

President Kennedy quoted Benjamin Franklin to the effect that free men had two fatherlands, their own and France. Nora Steenerson says that today likewise men in revolt against tyranny have two fatherlands, their own and Russia. This is something very well worth thinking about.

Just as France helped the Americans against the British, so Russia helped China against Japan. Even Mme Chiang Kai-Shek, no friend of Russia, admitted that Russian help to China was unconditional. And at the same time we served the guns of the aggressor, Japan, with scrap-metal and oil.

At the time of Stalingrad the whole world reverberated with the victory of Russia over the horror of Nazism. Then Hitler's power, which had embraced Europe from Norway to the Mediterranean, was broken. Stalingrad was the end of a terrible dream for Europe, for the world, which should never be forgotten.

A Negro editor in the deep South—I found him reading our edition of the Dean of Canterbury's "Soviet Power"—said to me, "The Russians are as a light to us; they give us courage and faith." He was loyal. He loved America and he loved Russia too. So the torch that was lit in Valley Forge was thrown to Paris and from Paris it was carried to Moscow.

New York, pride of the Western world.
London, Paris, are your flags all furled?
Spend your hoarded moral treasure,
Move you; March to Moscow's measure!

We are immensely pleased to receive the following from from Valeda J. Bryant, Palo Alto, California, and are proud to have been associated on the air with the late lamented Patrice Lumumba foully murdered by the minions of empire:

"I am sure you have read the poem by Patrice Lumumba that was in the February issue of *Africa Today*.

"It will interest you to know that I sent a copy of it with a copy of your "Remember Lumumba" to our radio station KPFA. That is a listener-sponsored station of high grade, and well-known. The two poems were read over the air and will be read again. Together, the two poems are doubly moving and beautiful—I was warmly thanked by KPFA people." Mrs. Bryant is secretary of *Flashlight*, Palo Alto.

Says Harry F. Ward in *The Churchman* (June, 1961):

"Since it is abundantly clear that the procedures of HUAC (House Un-American Activities Committee) are the opposite of the technique of investigation, the only duty assigned to it by the House, the inevitable question is what is the nature of the procedures the committee has substituted for investigation. The answer emphatically, required when the facts cited are viewed in the light of history, is that HUAC is perpetrating a fraud upon Congress and the nation many times greater than its doctored film ("Operation Abolition") by carrying on inquisition under the label of investigation.

"Compare its methods with those used in the attempt to prevent Protestantism from coming into being. The same use of informers: the same type of questions; the same demand for the names of other victims; the same use of torture with the refinement required by the advance of civilization, substituting mental

and emotional anguish for physical pain. Instead of the thumbscrew, the rack, and the fire at the stake, our modern inquisitors use branding as subversive, jailing for contempt, the loss of livelihood, and social ostracism—by neighbors, friends, and even members of the family."

Reminds us of certain articles by Thomas Bledsoe and Dr. Joshua Bloch in *The Protestant* in 1946 and 1947 which gave similar warning to that of Dr. Ward.

Likewise General Hugh B. Hester writes in *The Churchman* (June 1961) of the "Peril of Intervention." He says it is important that the American people "recognize that the first casualty of war, hot or cold, is truth." He goes on:

"If the U.S. Government trusts its people why does it restrict travel? . . . How many of your readers suspect that the late John Foster Dulles and his brother, Allen, along with the U.S. Ambassador to Iran, Mr. Loy Henderson, and General Schwartzkopf, planned and executed the coup that deposed Mohammed Mossedegh, Prime Minister of Iran, 1953? Yet Richard and Gladys Harkness, *Saturday Evening Post,* Nov. 6, 1954, give a chapter and verse description of this event, including its cost to the U.S. tax payer: 19 million dollars. Instead of denying this, the CIA is reportedly very proud of its part."

Then through Charles Edmundson, a U.S. official, he describes "the CIA overthrow of the Guatemalan Government, 1954."

He quotes Stewart Alsop on the part played by the CIA in the aggression on Communist China in 1950, 1954, and 1958. He tells how the CIA organized aggression against China involving Burma for a protracted period after 1949.

He quotes the English author Graham Greene who said, "In four winters in Vietnam I was an unhappy witness to the disintegration caused by the intrigue of American under-cover agencies." (London Times, Jan. 6, 1961).

One Heintges, a U.S. General of German birth, called "the Prussian" was borrowed by the CIA for subversive work in Laos.

In the Congo, let the younger brother of the President, Edward Kennedy, be the witness. According to a lead editorial in the Raleigh N.C. *News and Observer,* (Feb. 15, 1961) its editor and publisher, Jonathon Daniels made the statement that "Kennedy said that Congo President Kasavubu, who put Lumumba out of office and into jail was 'a tool' of the American Central Intelligence Agency."

According to *Time,* Sept. 26, 1960, Mobutu set up his military dictatorship after long talks with the Americans, who likewise gave stature to secessionist Katanga later that same fall.

"CIA's activities in planning, organizing and financing counter-revolutionary forces for the invasion of Cuba so generally believed before the recent invasion (even though Adlai Stevenson was obediently lying about it) have now been fully confirmed (N.Y. Times, April 21, 1961) . . . Jonathon Daniels in the Raleigh *News and Observer* has demanded the dismissal of Mr. Dulles."

With an unlimited expense account, under cover of absolute silence and darkness, without compunction or compassion, this organization (the CIA) appears to have sprung out of some medieval mentality. In America it seems out of place.

"ONE THERMONUCLEAR BOMB RELEASES MORE DESTRUCTIVE ENERGY THAN THAT RELEASED BY ALL OF THE BOMBS DROPPED ON GERMANY AND JAPAN DURING WORLD WAR II."

Quoted in the editorial column of *The Churchman*, June 1961, from *Community of Fear*, published by the Fund for the Republic. Written by Harrison Brown professor of geo-chemistry at the California Institute of Technology and James Real.

The Churchman also says editorially: "There seems to be little doubt that the great majority of the people of Cuba are supporting Fidel Castro. All reliable reports confirm this and the quick and disastrous failure of the 'invasion' further proves it. Wishful thinking will not change the facts."

CSM News, the bulletin of the Christian Socialist Movement in Great Britain, makes this note at the end of its first year:

"Throughout the world, from Cuba to the Congo, there are strife and hatred and famine—all caused, ultimately, by the greed anl selfishness of human beings taught by capitalism and imperialism that greed and selfishness, under other names, are legitimate and even creditable motives in human relations."

Donald Soper, well-known British clergyman, has been in Canada on a visit, "There is the general feeling . . . that Diefenbaker . . . is not such a good statesman, . . . that Lester Pearson lacks the qualities of leadership . . . the new party is not likely to win victory at the polls . . . but will have a strong impact on whatever party is in power."

Listening for two hours and a half to Tommy Douglas, Premier of Saskatchewan, as he addressed a Halifax audience recently, it struck us forcibly that here in Douglas was a leader of the pro-

portions of a Laurier or a Howe. Small in physical stature he is a giant in mental and spiritual strength. He proposed some policies for the New Party, which he will probably lead. They were along the lines of the British Labour Party policies, a planned economy giving every citizen a decent standard of living, floor prices for fish and farm products, increased pensions for the aged and infirm, a foreign policy for peace.

Premier Douglas urged a more perceptive sense of values for Canadians who spend more for alcohol and tobacco than for health, more for advertising than on education, and more for gambling at the race-track than for public libraries.

He is against Canada joining the nuclear club by allowing American nuclear weapons on our soil; but said he was afraid our government has already agreed to this, although the formal papers have not yet been signed.

He did not mention the cold war, either to denounce it or renounce it. But on looking over the draft program for the New Party we see the following statement:

"In the struggle between democracy and totalitarianism Canada cannot remain neutral: it must always stand squarely on the side of freedom . . . "

However, the draft program advocates recognition of China, scrapping of NATO, termination of NORAD agreements if they involve nuclear weapons. These are moves toward neutralism. As a matter of actual fact there is no struggle between democracy and totalitarianism today. Even Canada itself is not a complete democracy, else why the need of a New Party to democratize it. President Kennedy of the USA speaks much of the forces of freedom. He thinks of the USA as the leader of the free world. Canadians generally think the same thing, although it gives us little comfort to think of Trujillo, Jiminez, Franco, Rhee, Chiang Kai-shek, to name but a few of the stalwarts of the free world. Batista of Cuba was one of these bastions of freedom, a solid friend of the USA. His tortured people rose, threw him out, clasped Fidel Castro to its bosom. The leader of the free world then led a liberating force who would bring back the gambling halls and bordellos. Freedombecomes freedom to exploit, not freedom to educate. The freedom to exploit was brought under the protection of the USA. The freedom to educate was brought under the protection and with the help of the USSR. Where is freedom and who aids it?

This "freedom" hoax is the biggest fraud that is being practised upon the human race. Governor Rockefeller, whose family fortune is estimated at several hundred billion dollars with large investments in the missile field and with large investments in Haute Miniere du Katanga, claims that "freedom" must be defended in the Congo. But freedom for Governor Rockefeller is

freedom to exploit. We do not wish to characterize Governor Rockefeller as entirely evil. There is much *noblesse oblige* about him, *much generosity*, much charm. His money and power he looks upon as a trust, but he would have it clearly understood that it is his trust, and not to be alienated from him and his family. The public relations experts of his family and those of the DuPonts, Fords, Mellons, and the rest of what we have called the feudal cartelists, have translated their hunger-to-dominate into a desire for freedom; but the freedom they want is for themselves, not for the other man: and when the other man rebels he is called a communist which is supposed to be the worst thing you can call him. When the other man declares the rights of the people as in the Havana Declaration of September 2, 1960, this is called an alien ideology and is outlawed from American shores in the name of the Monroe Doctrine which was aimed originally to *support* such declarations.

Dr. James G. Endicott has written a "Canadian Letter to President Kennedy" with which we heartily concur. In it he quotes the great Methodist preacher, John Wesley who wrote to Lord North, saying "You are taking the wrong course. The American people are asking for nothing they ought not to have." Then he adds, "Were John Wesley here today, I feel sure he would say to you and the Americanpeople, 'Before you send more guns and tanks to kill Cuban people, most of whom ardently support Premier Castro and his government, remember George III, remember those soldiers of George Washington without shoes at Valley Forge and do not put the weight of your great Republic on the side of corrupt and oppressive government.'" Bravo Dr. Endicott! Somehow we have the feeling that Mr. Kennedy may heed his admonition.

SUSIE STAGEBERG

When your editor visited Minneapolis in 1960 he met many progressive people at the home of Mrs. Emma Carlson who was very kind to him and made it possible for him to meet some wonderful persons. One of these was Susie Stageberg, who became a sympathetic subscriber and friend. We are now informed of her death at 84, and we are saddened to think that there are so few to take her place.

Susie possessed a rare gift; a life-long labor journalist she had the grace of deep humility along with the profound insight of the prophet. In 1922 at a meeting of the Non-Partisan League she suggested the formation of a Farmer-Labor Party and out of that suggestion came the most important movement in the history of the state. One of the leaders of that movement, Governor Elmer Benson, a warm friend and subscriber to New Christian, was present and spoke beautifully of Susie Stageberg at the service held in the Floyd B. Olson Memorial Labor Temple, named after another great governor of Minnesota, who was likewise one of Susie's spiritual children. It was a privilege to meet this great woman.

NEW CHRISTIAN

MAY - JUNE, 1961

EDITOR
Kenneth Leslie

ASSOCIATE EDITOR
Rev. John Tunnicliffe

EDITORIAL ADVISERS

Archbishop Adam
Rev. William T. Baird
Rev. Lee H. Ball
Rev. Russell C. Barbour
Rev. Reginald H. Bass
Rev. C. Harrison Becker
Bishop Albert Bereczky
Henrietta Buckmaster
Rev. R. Alex Cameron
Rev. Boise Dent
Bishop Laszlo Dezsery
Rev. I. Jonathan Domas
Rev. H. deM. DuBois
Rev. Merlin W. Ennis
Rev. Stanley Evans
Rev. John Fekete
Rev. Joseph F. Fletcher
Rev. Stephen H. Fritchman
Rev. Erwin A. Gaede
Rev. Sidney E. Harris
Rev. A. Eustace Haydon
Rev. Daniel Hughes
Very Rev. Hewlett Johnson
Rev. J. Spencer Kennard
Rev. Ferenc H. Kiss
John A. Lee
Rev. E. D. McGowan
Prof. John Macmurray
Rev. John A. Maynard
Rev. Laszlo Michnay
Rev. Joseph G. Moore
Rev. J. Murdock Palmer
Bishop John Peter
Ida Pruit
Leslie Roberts
Rev. R. Ross-Shannon
Watson Thomson
Bishop Lajos Veto
Rev. Wilfred Wakefield
Rev. Etianne Watts
Prof. Henry N. Wieman
Rev. Claude Williams
Rev. Mercer Wilson

NEW CHRISTIAN is published monthly by New Christian Books, Elmsdale, Nova Scotia. By subscription only. 12 issues $3.25. Checks and money orders payable to NEW CHRISTIAN BOOKS. No Agents.